CHAPTER X

THE MASSACRE OF GOLIAD

TRAVIS'S morning and evening guns had ceased to send their signals over the prairie to the ears of the listening scouts from Gonzales five days before Houston's arrival, and on the 11th of March, when he reached the town, definite news of the fall of the Alamo had been received from the mouth of Antonio Borgaro, a Mexican from San Antonio. Houston instantly sent off a swift dispatch with the news to Colonel Fannin at Goliad, with orders to blow up the fort and evacuate the place. He was directed to bring away as many pieces of artillery as he could, and sink the rest in the river. He was to march to Victoria on the Guadalupe River, intrench himself, and await further orders. Every facility was to be afforded to the women and children who wished to leave the place. Prompt action was urged, as the enemy were reported to be advancing, and there was likely to be a rise in the waters. On the 13th, Mrs. Dickenson reached Gonzales, and brought a confirmation of the news of the capture of the Alamo, and the slaughter of its defenders. There was a scene of wild grief and panic in the little town. The larger portion of its male citizens had formed the party

which had joined the defenders of the Alamo, and perished with them. Twenty women were made widows by the slaughter, and almost every family had lost one of its members. There were rumors that the Mexican troops had reached the Cibolo Creek on their way to Gonzales, and preparations were made for immediate flight. Those who had wagons loaded them with such things as they could carry, and women mounted on horseback with their children in their arms for a wild flight across the prairie. One woman, who had lost her husband in the Alamo, rushed frantically about the streets with disheveled hair, screaming for the Mexicans to come and kill her and her children. Houston exerted himself to calm the violence, and bring some order out of the panic. When Houston reached Gonzales he found about 300 militia men gathered there without organization, and about a hundred more had come in since. It was useless to attempt to resist the advance of Santa Anna with any such force, and Houston determined to fall back to the line of the Colorado, and await the junction of the troops under Fannin. That night the troops were gathered together and, escorting the wagons containing the women and children, set out on the forlorn march over the wet prairie. Two small cannon were thrown into the river for the want of means to bring them away, and a single wagon, drawn by four feeble oxen, contained all the munitions and supplies of the army. After leaving the town it was set on fire, and as the band struggled on

in the darkness their backward glances could see the lights of their blazing homes on the horizon. Deaf Smith and Henry Karnes were left behind as scouts to watch for the approach of the Mexicans. The next day, at Peach Creek, fifteen miles from Gonzales, a party of 125 volunteers was met, twenty-five of whom left on hearing the news of the fall of the Alamo. Thirty-five more joined them during the day, making the number remaining with the force 474. When the party reached Nevada Creek, fifteen miles from the Colorado, Houston learned that a blind widow with six children had been ignorantly left at a house some distance from the road. He sent a party back to bring them in, and delayed his march until they arrived. He sent Major William T. Austin, his aid-de-camp, to the mouth of the Brazos for six cannon which were supposed to be there, and pushed on to the Colorado, which he reached on the 17th. He made his camp on the west bank of the river at a place known as Burnham's Crossing, and awaited the news from Fannin.

While Santa Anna had been advancing upon San Antonio, General Urrea, with his escort of cavalry, had proceeded to Matamoras, and taken command of the troops there for an advance to the north. He left Matamoras on February 18 with a force of between 900 and 1000 men, and reached San Patricio on the 27th. He immediately asaulted the barracks in a storm of rain. The garrison of forty men, under Captain Peirce, made a desperate resistance, but the

building was taken. The prisoners, to the number of twenty-four, were shot by order of General Urrea. Colonel Johnson and three companions, who were in a house in the town, made their escape through the back door, and found their way to Refugio. Dr. Grant and a party of forty men were out on a horse-raiding expedition toward the Rio Grande. They had previously captured Captain Rodriguez and sixty-six Mexicans with a *caballada* of horses. The party was released under parole, but broke their parole, and joined the forces under Urrea. After the capture of San Patricio, Urrea set out in pursuit of Grant. He discovered Grant's party on the 2d of March near the Aqua Dulce, returning with a herd of captured horses. He set an ambush, and the Mexicans charged upon Grant's party from two belts of timber through which they were passing. The greater portion of Grant's men were killed in the charge. But he and a man named Reuben R. Brown fled across the prairie. They were pursued, and, after a desperate race of seven miles, Grant was killed by a lance thrust. Brown was lassoed from his horse, and made a prisoner.

When Fannin received Houston's dispatch ordering him to abandon Goliad and fall back upon Victoria, he was in command of about 500 men. They consisted almost entirely of volunteers from the United States. Fannin, in his letter to the Council, had complained that there were less than half a dozen Texans in his ranks. They were divided into two

battalions, known as the "Georgia" and the "La Fayette." The first consisted of Ward's, Wadsworth's, and Tucker's companies from Alabama and Georgia. The second included the New Orleans "Grays," Captain Pettes; the "Mustangs" of Kentucky, Captain Duval; the Mobile "Grays," Captain McManeman; a company from Louisville and Huntsville, Tennessee, Captain Bradford; Captain King's company from Georgia; and the "Red Rovers" of Alabama, Captain Shackleford. There was also a small squadron of cavalry under Captain Horton, and a detachment of artillery under Captain Westover. Colonel Fannin had built an earthwork around the old Mission church, which he called Fort Defiance, and prepared to defend the place. Learning of the advance of Urrea he sent an order to the garrison of San Patricio to join him, but had been disobeyed. He then sent Captain King with twenty-eight men to bring in the families from Refugio. Captain King arrived at Refugio on the 12th of March. Before he could remove the families he was attacked by the advance guard of Urrea's cavalry, and took refuge in the old stone church of the Mission. He dispatched a message to Colonel Fannin for assistance, and Fannin sent Lieutenant-Colonel Ward with 120 men. King defended the church until the arrival of Ward on the evening of the 13th, and preparations were made for a retreat the next day. But in the morning Urrea arrived with the main body of his force. On the news of his approach, Captain King was sent

out with a party of thirteen men to reconnoitre, and was attacked by a strong force of cavalry. Ward sallied out to his assistance, but was beaten back, and compelled to retreat to the church. Captain King was cut off, and compelled to surrender. He and his men were tied to post oak-trees and shot. Their bodies were left unburied, and their skeletons were afterward found fastened to the trees. Ward and his party were besieged in the Mission church. The building was in ruins, but its walls were strong. Urrea brought up a four-pounder to batter in the door, and attempted to take the church by assault. The attack was repulsed by the deadly fire of the rifles, and in the evening the enemy withdrew to their camp, leaving pickets around the building. The Texans, finding their ammunition nearly exhausted, determined to escape during the night. There was the painful necessity of leaving behind three of the comrades who had been disabled during the fight. They filled the canteens of the wounded with water, and left them to the mercy of the Mexicans, who afterward butchered them. The party broke through the patrol guard, and started to find their way to Victoria, where they expected to meet Fannin. They took a circuitous route through swamps and forests, so as to avoid the pursuit of the enemy's cavalry, and reached Victoria on the 20th. They found Victoria in possession of the enemy, and were attacked by a force of cavalry. They retreated into the swamps of the Guadalupe, where they spent the night. In the

morning, having not a single round of ammunition left, they surrendered, and were marched back as prisoners to Goliad.

Fannin waited six days for the return of Ward and King, sending off courier after courier in a vain attempt to obtain news. On the 18th he received definite news that the church was taken, and that Ward had retreated in the direction of Victoria. A scouting party of cavalry was sent out under Captain Horton, who reported that a large force was advancing slowly from the direction of San Antonio. Some skirmishing took place during the day with advance parties of Urrea's cavalry. In the evening a consultation of the officers was held, and it was decided to retreat the next day. The heavy pieces of cannon were buried, the fort was dismantled, and the provisions and supplies, which could not be taken with the force, destroyed. The force set out on its march toward Victoria on the morning of the 19th. It numbered about 350 men, and had nine fieldpieces and a howitzer, and a number of wagons drawn by oxen. The morning was extremely thick and foggy, and it took until ten o'clock to get the train across the San Antonio River. The march was begun across an open prairie, skirted with belts of timber, toward the Coleto Creek, about ten miles from the town. Not a Mexican had been seen, except a couple of mounted videttes, and when within about three miles of the sheltering timber of the Coleto, Fannin ordered a halt at a place where the grass had sprung up

green after being burned over, to allow his cattle to graze. It was a fatal error. Fannin was remonstrated with by some of his officers, and urged to push on to the timber. But he appears to have held the Mexicans in contempt, and imagined that they would not dare to molest him.

After a halt of about an hour and a half, and just as the order had been given to hitch up the teams to resume the march, a dark line of cavalry was seen coming from a skirt of timber to the right of the Texan force, and about two miles distant. They advanced at a gallop, and formed in a mass between the Texans and the Coleto. A large body of infantry followed the cavalry, and took a position in the rear, rapidly advancing lines on both sides. The Texans were caught in a trap. The train had been halted in a depression of the prairie six or seven feet below the general surface, and in an attempt to reach an eminence an ammunition wagon broke down. The lines were then drawn in a hollow square, three ranks deep. The wagons were pushed in the centre, and the artillery stationed at the corners. After the Mexican forces had been posted so as to surround the Texans, their cavalry advanced and opened a harmless fire with their *escopetos*. Fannin ordered his men to lie down, and not to fire until the enemy came within certain range. When they did so, the Texan rifles emptied the foremost saddles, and drove them back. Captain Horton, who had been sent forward with the cavalry to examine the crossing over the

Coleto, hearing the firing, galloped back to rejoin the main body. But his party was attacked by the cavalry, and compelled to take flight through the woods toward the settlements. The enemy appeared at two o'clock, and at three, having made all his dispositions, Urrea ordered a general charge upon the lines from the two sides and the rear. They were received with a withering fire from the artillery and the rifles, each Texan being supplied with two or three loaded guns, and firing with great coolness and precision. The Mexicans came on with great impetuosity, until their front ranks were almost at the bayonet push. The Texan fire, however, was so rapid and deadly that they were compelled to fall back. The infantry were ordered to lie down within range, and fire from that position, but were picked off by the Texans whenever they raised their heads, and were compelled to withdraw. Urrea endeavored to break the Texan lines by a cavalry charge led by himself, but it was broken by a discharge of grapeshot from the howitzer and a volley from the rifles. For the third time the assault was made, the officers pricking on the men from behind with their swords. The infantry were driven up close, but the cavalry broke when scarcely within range. The plain was strewn with the bodies of men and horses, and riderless horses charged through the lines of infantry, throwing them into still greater confusion, "until their retreat resembled the headlong flight of a herd of buffaloes." The Mexican troops were finally rallied,

and drawn up around the Texan lines out of range. Colonel Fannin was severely wounded in the thigh in the early part of the engagement, but continued to command with great coolness and courage. The Texan cannon were useless after a few discharges, from becoming heated and clogged, there being no water with which to sponge them.

After the assault had been given up the cavalry were drawn around the lines in open order. They kept up a harmless fire with their muskets and *escopetos*, to which the Texans responded with more deadly effect. There were about a hundred Campeachy Indians with the Mexican forces. They crept up around the Texan lines, taking advantage of every hillock and tuft of thick grass, and opened a much more deadly and accurate fire upon the besieged force, killing and wounding a number of the Texans. Four of them crept up to within a hundred yards, and were firing with deadly effect, when Captain Duval, an excellent marksman, undertook to dislodge them. Taking a position behind a gun carriage he fired every time an Indian showed his head, and silenced them in four shots. As he fired his last shot the forefinger of his right hand was taken off by a rifle ball. After the battle the four Indians were found where they fell, each with a hole in his head. During the fighting one of the wounded was Harry Ripley, a youth of eighteen or nineteen, the son of General Ripley, of Louisiana. He had his thigh broken shortly after the Indians took to the grass.

He asked Mrs. Cash, a lady of Goliad, who had accompanied the retreat, to help him into her cart. She fixed a prop for him to lean against, and a rest for his rifle. He was seen to bring down four Mexicans before he received another wound, which broke his right arm. He said to Mrs. Cash, "You may take me down, now, mother. I have done my share. They have paid exactly two for one on account of the balls in me." The Indian firing began at dusk, but as soon as the darkness rendered the flashes of the guns more plainly visible, the Texan rifles were instantaneously aimed at the spots, and soon put an end to the discharges. Urrea drew off his troops, and surrounded the Texan lines, his camp fires gleaming redly in the darkness, and his guards keeping up a continual cry of "*Sentinela alerte.*"

The night was one of extreme darkness and a heavy fog. Colonel Fannin addressed the men, saying that the only chance of escape was by a retreat during the night to the timber of the Coleto. He said that there was no doubt of their ability to do so, as the enemy was much demoralized by the failure of their attacks, but in the morning it would be too late, as the Mexicans would undoubtedly receive reinforcements. If the majority of the men were in favor of the attempt it should be made. But this would have necessitated the abandonment of the wounded. There were sixty of the men who had been hit, about forty of whom were disabled. The men refused to abandon their wounded comrades to the mercy of the Mexicans, and

it was decided to remain. The lines were contracted to the centre from the original area in which they had fought the battle, and the night was spent by the Texans in throwing up an earthen breastwork, which was still further barricaded by the wagons and the dead bodies of the oxen killed during the afternoon's fight. It was so dark that the surgeons were unable to attend to the wounded, who suffered intensely from thirst. By an oversight the provisions had been left behind, and the night wore away for the besieged without food, or drink, or sleep. During the night three men deserted, and attempted to reach the timber of the Coleto. But the reports from the muskets of the Mexican patrols showed that they had been intercepted and killed.

In the early morning, before it was fairly light, reinforcements of 300 or 400 men were seen coming to the enemy. They had with them two pieces of artillery, and a hundred pack mules laden with ammunition and supplies. The pieces were soon trained, and the Mexicans opened fire with grape and canister, shattering the wagons and ploughing through the camp. The position of the Texans was untenable. Their cannon were useless, and there were but two or three rounds of ammunition left for the small arms. A consultation of the officers was hastily called, and the question was discussed of a surrender. Fannin opposed it, saying, "We whipped them off yesterday, and can do it again to-day." But the majority were in favor of a surrender, if hon-

orable and safe terms of capitulation could be obtained. The question was submitted to the men by the commanders of the companies, and they agreed that it was impossible to attempt to resist any longer. The white flag was hoisted, and responded to by the enemy. Colonel Fannin and Major Wallace, accompanied by Captain Durangue, as interpreter, went out from the encampment. They were met halfway between the lines by Colonel Salas, Lieutenant-Colonel Holzinger, and Lieutenant Gonzales, the officers sent by Urrea. After a conference the Texan officers returned, and announced that articles had been agreed on by which the besieged should surrender as prisoners of war, and be treated according to the usages of civilized nations. The wounded were to be taken back to Goliad and properly cared for. Private property was to be respected. Dr. Joseph H. Bernard, one of the surgeons, said that he saw what he supposed to be the articles signed by Colonel Fannin, and delivered to a Mexican officer, and believed that each commander had a duplicate. It was rumored about the camp that it was agreed that the men should be sent to New Orleans at the first opportunity, under parole not to serve any more during the war in Texas. This was confirmed by the saying of Lieutenant-Colonel Holzinger, the Mexican officer appointed to receive the surrendered arms. As they were delivered up he said, "Well, gentlemen, in ten days liberty and home." The officers' arms were received separately, nailed up in a box, and put on

one side, with the assurance that they should be delivered to them on their release.

The loss of the Texans in the battle, called by the Mexicans "Encinal del Perdido," was seven killed and sixty wounded, of whom some died before the removal of the prisoners. The loss of the Mexicans is not known with any accuracy. General Urrea reported only eleven killed and fifty-four wounded, which was a manifest absurdity. Dr. Bernard says that he assisted in attending over a hundred of the wounded Mexicans. The total Mexican loss in killed and wounded can hardly have been less than between 200 and 300. The most reasonable estimate of the number of Urrea's troops on the morning of the surrender is that of about 1200.

The prisoners were put under a strong guard of cavalry, marched back to Goliad, and confined in the old church. The wounded were brought in carts the next day, and placed in the barracks' hospital. The church, which was of limestone, gloomy and vaulted, was not large enough to comfortably contain the prisoners. They were huddled together, and given as rations only four ounces of fresh beef, which they were obliged to cook as they could. Hospital dressings and surgical instruments were wanting for the wounded, and the surgeons complained to Colonel Fannin, who addressed a note to General Urrea calling attention to the terms of the capitulation in regard to the treatment of the wounded. Urrea set out in pursuit of Ward's party, and they were brought

in prisoners a few days afterward. He also dispatched a force to Copano, who returned with Major Miller and eighty-two volunteers from Nashville. They were captured by Colonel Vara immediately upon landing, and surrendered without resistance. They arrived on the 25th, and were confined in the church, being distinguished from the rest of the prisoners by pieces of white cloth tied around their arms.

Meantime the news had reached Santa Anna at San Antonio of the capture of Fannin and his force. He instantly dispatched an order to Lieutenant-Colonel Portilla, the commandant of Goliad, to have the prisoners all shot. The Mexican Congress the previous year had passed a law that all foreigners making an armed invasion of the country should be dealt with as pirates.

Colonel Portilla received the order for the execution of the prisoners on Saturday evening, the 26th. On that same evening Colonel Fannin and Lieutenant-Colonel Holzinger returned from Copano, where they had been to see if a vessel could be obtained to take the men to New Orleans; but they could find none in the harbor. Colonel Fannin was very cheerful, and spoke of his wife and child, whom he expected soon to see. The prisoners were encouraged by the apparent purpose of the Mexicans to send them home, and spent the evening in singing, one of the men who had retained his flute playing "Home, Sweet Home." Portilla was much agitated and dis-

tressed by the receipt of the order from Santa Anna, and the news soon spread among the Mexican officers, causing horror and indignation among the more humane. Urrea was absent in the direction of Victoria, and the news did not reach him until after the execution had taken place.

In the early morning of Palm Sunday the prisoners were awakened and formed into three divisions. One was led out on the road to San Antonio, one on the road to San Patricio, and the third on the road to Copano. One party was informed by the Mexican officers that it was marching to be sent home, another that it was being taken out to kill beeves, and the third that the church was required for Santa Anna's advancing troops. As they passed through the town the Mexican women, gazing at them from the doors of the houses, exclaimed, "*Pobrecitos!*" (poor fellows) but the exclamation aroused no suspicion. They were marched in double file with Mexican soldiers on each side of them, and cavalry squads in the rear. When about half a mile from the town, in different directions, the divisions were halted, and one line of the Mexican soldiers passed around to the other side. There was hardly time for the exclamation, "Boys, they are going to kill us!" when the order was given to fire, and the volleys were poured in at close range. The lines of prisoners fell in heaps. Some few, who were unwounded, struggled to their feet, and dashed toward the timber out upon the prairie, pursued by the cavalry, and shot at as

they ran. The guards stabbed the wounded to death with their bayonets. Many of the fugitives were shot down, or stabbed with lances, and some of those who reached a temporary shelter in the river timber were afterward intercepted and killed by the cavalry pickets. Twenty-seven finally escaped by reaching the woods and swimming the river. They made their way by long and painful journeys over the prairies, hiding by day and moving on by night, and, after incredible sufferings and perilous adventures, reached places of safety in the settlements, or joined the Texan army in its advance after the battle of San Jacinto.

Before daylight in the morning, Dr. Bernard and Dr. Shackleford, who was a surgeon as well as captain of the "Red Rovers," were aroused by Colonel Garay with a serious and grave countenance, and directed to go to his headquarters, which were in a peach orchard, two or three hundred yards from the church. They found that Captain Miller's company had also been ordered there, and followed them on, supposing that their services were required for some wounded. Drs. Bernard and Shackleford were called inside of Colonel Garay's tent, where they found two men lying completely covered up with blankets, so that they could not see their faces, and whom they supposed to be the patients they were called to attend. While waiting a lad named Martinez came in, and addressed them in English. They chatted for some time, but, becoming impatient at the non-appearance

of Colonel Garay, they were about to return to the church, when Martinez told them that the directions for them to remain were positive. Just then they were startled by a volley of firearms from the direction of the fort, and Dr. Shackleford exclaimed, "What's that?" Martinez replied that it was the soldiers discharging their guns for the purpose of cleaning them. But yells and cries were heard, which were recognized as being the voices of Americans, and through the openings in the trees some prisoners were seen running at their utmost speed with Mexican soldiers in pursuit of them. Colonel Garay then entered the tent with a distressed countenance, and said, "Keep still, gentlemen, you are perfectly safe. This is not from my orders, nor do I execute them." He then told them of the orders which had been received from Santa Anna to shoot the prisoners, and that he had taken upon himself the responsibility of saving the surgeons, and the others, who had been taken without arms in their hands. The men under the blankets were two who had been employed by Colonel Garay as carpenters, and whom he had resolved to save. In the course of five or ten minutes as many as five distinct volleys were heard in the tent, and occasional shots followed for more than an hour. Dr. Shackleford had recruited the "Red Rovers" from among his friends and neighbors in Alabama, and his eldest son and two of his nephews were in their ranks. Señora Alvarez, the wife of one of Urrea's officers, having been informed of the

approaching massacre, withdrew a few of the Texan officers during the night, and concealed them in her house until the slaughter was over. They joined Miller's men, and were released after the retreat of the Mexicans from San Jacinto.

Fannin and Ward were not shot with the rest of the prisoners, but taken out later. Fannin received the order for his execution with a calm countenance. He handed his watch to the officer commanding the firing party, with the request that it be sent to his family. He asked that he be not shot in the head, and that he should be decently buried. It is said that he was shot in the head, and at any rate his body was thrown in the heap with the rest of the prisoners. Ward refused to kneel at the word of command, and was shot while denouncing the Mexicans as cold-blooded murderers. Fannin was a native of Georgia, and had come to Texas in 1834. At the outbreak of the revolution he had enlisted a company called the "Brazos Volunteers," and joined Austin's army. He had sided with the Council in the difficulties between it and Governor Smith, but the charge that he refused to obey the orders of General Houston to retreat from Goliad is an error. But his delays in executing them promptly were as fatal as disobedience. Ward was a native of Georgia, where he had recruited a company at the call of Texas for volunteers, and reached the country a few months previous to his death. The wounded were butchered in their beds in the hospital. Toward

evening the bodies were piled in heaps, and some brushwood was piled over them and set on fire. It was not sufficient to consume them, and the next day the vultures were seen feeding on the scorched and mangled remains. When the Texan army advanced after the battle of San Jacinto to follow General Filisola's retiring march, it halted at Goliad, and the bones of the victims of the massacre were gathered and placed in a grave, at which General Rusk delivered a feeling address. The number of men killed in the massacre was 320. Twenty had been previously killed with Captain King, or butchered in the church at Refugio. The massacre was as bunglingly executed as it was cruel, and included all the horrors of cowardly treachery and clumsy butchery more befitting a band of savages than a disciplined military. The troops departed for the east the next day, leaving seventy or eighty men to guard the hospital. Miller's men were allowed at large on their parole. Drs. Bernard and Shackleford were taken to San Antonio to attend the Mexican soldiers wounded in the assault on the Alamo.

Some controversy arose as to whether Fannin had surrendered under an agreement of capitulation or at discretion. The copy of the agreement, if there was one, was never found, and General Urrea declared that the surrender was without conditions. The presumptive evidence, however, is strongly in favor of a capitulation. Fannin and his men were well aware of the cruelty of the Mexicans, and would have pre-

ferred to have died fighting rather than to have trusted to their mercy, without some definite guarantee that they would be treated as prisoners of war. All the circumstances go to show that they laid down their arms upon such a pledge. There is nothing in the character of Urrea to vindicate him from the charge of the falsehood and treachery too common among his military associates, and his previous butchery of Captain King's men and the garrison at San Patricio showed that he was ready to carry out the orders for treating the invaders from the United States as pirates. There is a further presumption that there was a capitulation in the fact that he sent Fannin and his men to Goliad, instead of executing them on the spot. There is reason to believe that Urrea informed Santa Anna that Fannin had surrendered upon terms, although the latter denied it when a prisoner at San Jacinto, for the order to shoot the prisoners was sent not to Urrea, but to Colonel Portilla. The odium of the butchery rests entirely upon Santa Anna. He was responsible for the decree of the Mexican Congress that invaders should be treated as outlaws, for the Congress was entirely his creature. He was undoubtedly deeply enraged at the slaughter of his troops by the defenders of the Alamo, and perhaps counted on striking terror into the Texan colonists by an example of merciless severity. If so, he was mistaken in the character of the men he had to deal with. They were simply aroused to a pitch of fury by his cruelty, and the cry of "Remember La

Bahia!" nerved the arms that struck down his fleeing soldiers at San Jacinto. Like all such deeds, it was a blunder as well as a crime. When he received the information that Miller and his company had been spared, he directed the preparation of an order for their execution, but Captain Savageiro, the bearer of the dispatch from Goliad, manfully remonstrated. He was reprimanded by Santa Anna, but the order was withdrawn to permit an investigation into the circumstances of the capture. To the credit of most of the Mexican officers, they were shocked at Santa Anna's barbarity, and some of them had the courage to express their shame and indignation.

Santa Anna was confirmed in his belief that the war was practically over by the capture of the garrison of Goliad. He divided his troops into three columns to complete the work of occupying the country. The first, under General Gaona, was to proceed by a northerly route to Nacogdoches. The second, under General Sesma, was to advance upon San Felipe, and thence by way of Harrisburg to the coast at Anahuac. The third, under General Urrea, was to sweep the country between Goliad and the mouth of the Brazos, and drive out all the colonists on the southern border. The orders to these commanders were to shoot all prisoners. He ordered a brigade of cavalry, with a portion of the artillery and military stores, to be ready to return to San Luis Potosi, and prepared to set out for Tampico himself by sea from Copano or Matagorda. But upon the

remonstrances of General Filisola and Colonel Almonte, that the Texans were by no means yet subdued, and the receipt of a dispatch from General Sesma that a force of 1200 had gathered to dispute the passage of the Colorado, Santa Anna changed his mind, countermanded the order for the withdrawal of the troops to Mexico, and set out with General Filisola, under an escort of cavalry, to join the column under General Sesma.